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ABSTRACT

After a brief discussion of conference background and structure, these proceedings identify and summarize equal pay and employment policy issues discussed at a four-day working conference of sixty-five people from twelve advanced industrialized countries. Focus is on progress to date and alternative strategies for implementing policies. Strategies discussed include implementing equal employment policy (EEP) as legislation, government regulation, collective agreement, and training programs for women. Specific topics covered include facilitation of equal employment policy in work organizations by the awareness of federal laws and regulations, establishment of goals and timetables for action, development of an EEP policy, analysis of the company's utilization of women, monitoring EEP plans versus results, identification of special problem areas in utilizing women, and changes in personnel practices. Alternative arrangements of working hours, job sharing experiments, and guaranteed paid leaves are examined. The effect of the current recession on EEP and the underevaluation of women's work are treated. Issues listed as unresolved are preference for an EEP encompassing short or long-term perspectives, means for EEP implementation, and goals and priorities. The issues of the double burden of the working woman in work and family life, the unionization of working women, and the broadening of EEP goals are examined in greater depth in the conclusion. Statistics on labor force composition, wage gaps and unemployment, and current machinery for EEP implementation are appended. (MN)

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Report on

Wellesley Conference on Equal Pay and Equal Opportunity Policy in the United States, Canada, and Western Europe

Analytic Summary of Themes and Issues

Ronnie Steinberg Ratner
Research Associate

Wellesley College Center for Research on Women

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Preface to the Proceedings

When the Wellesley Center first brought together an international advisory committee to plan a conference on Equal Pay and Equal Opportunity for Women, we proposed an agenda focusing on administrative remedies and litigation to eliminate sex discrimination. These are the major routes for bringing about equality in the labor market and settling disputes with employers that are available to women workers in the United States. We thought the U.S. story of success and failure in using these measures could inform other nations now planning equal opportunity policy. We expected that we could learn from Europeans particularly in the area of Equal Pay policy, because of the progress in some countries in reducing the wage gap between men and women.

Our European advisers raised doubts about what they perceived to be the litigious orientation of U.S. policy. More useful to them would be an increased emphasis on collective bargaining and trade union activities, for so many more European women are organized. They asked also that we give major attention to the family, which plays a primary constraining role on women's opportunities to work. Because European societies have explicit policies toward family life, these policies often become the embodiment of societal attitudes toward working women. Finally, since the recession pressed everyone and unemployment was a major concern for all leaders dealing with opportunities to work, they urged that we address the economic context of equal opportunity policy.

The discussions which began in this meeting continued over several months of conference planning. With colleagues at Wellesley, we identified an array of institutional mechanisms utilized in different countries to implement equal opportunity for women. We also determined that the conference must discuss frankly the experiences of each country in utilizing its institutions, to see how such problems as employee harassment during litigation or lack of women leaders in collective bargaining might be averted.

The conference enriched us all. Participants from Europe, Canada, and the U.S. brought many strong but different areas of expertise. Some Europeans left with plans to consult with other European colleagues about details of proposed legislation, while the trade union women made plans to gather and develop strategies for making presentations to a major U.S. conference. As Amercians, we came away with an expanded sense of the many levels of equal opportunity policy. European perceptions of how family and labor market policies govern access to jobs provided a context for our longer experience with modes of redressing sex discrimination in the work place itself. At the same time, many Europeans in countries just now contemplating legislation developed a new appreciation of how law may augment the other modes already available to them.

Finally, we developed a heightened appreciation of the women's movement in all of the countries. The time, courage, and commitment which so many women have given to formulating, implementing, and fighting for equal pay and equal opportunity policies are the bedrock of the successes that have been achieved. Many of these women attended the conference, and we are grateful to them for their insights.

As Director of the Wellesley College Center, I would like to offer my congratulations to Ronnie Steinberg Ratner for her informed and dedicated planning of the conference program and for her masterful summary of the discussion. Appreciation is due, also, to our colleagues, Brigid O'Farrell and Mary Jo Bane, for their guidance as members of the planning committee, and to Robert Gerald Livingston and Christina Graf of the German Marshall Fund for their many helpful suggestions and their financial support. Contributions from the Ford Foundation and the European Economic Community provided further much needed assistance.

Carolyn M. Elliott
Director
Wellesley College Center
for Research on Women

Equal employment policy has become one of the salient political issues of the late 1970's. A series of discrete, yet interrelated, events spurred the Wellesley College Center for Research on Women to convene a working conference on this topic on May 1-4, 1978. The conference brought together over sixty-five women and men from twelve advanced industrial countries to assess progress on equal pay and equal opportunity policies and to discuss alternative strategies for better implementing such policies. The German Marshall Fund of the United States, the European Economic Community, and the Ford Foundation sponsored the meeting. This paper reports on this conference; in particular, it discusses the background events that led to its organization, reviews its agenda, and describes the selection of participants.[1] The paper then identifies and summarizes several important issues which were discussed at length during the conference.

Background to the Conference

In the advanced industrial democracies, women comprise a large, permanent, and growing constituency in the labor market. In Sweden as of 1976, fully fifty-five percent of women worked at least part-time.[2] For most Western European and North American countries, recent labor force participation rates for women range from thirty-five to fifty percent.[3] Yet, in every country, the integration of women workers into the paid labor market remains far from complete. Indeed, few aspects of social life display as much uniformity among countries as do the patterns which indicate the separate and restricted position of women workers. Women are segregated into a small range of occupations within specified industries. (See Appendix A and Appendix B for statistics on selected countries.) This segregation of women workers translates into their unequal position in three important respects:

- Women workers earn significantly less than their male counterparts, suggesting that women's work is systematically undervalued (See Appendix C);
- Women workers suffer differentially high unemployment relative to men, suggesting that they have not yet lost their status as a reserve army (See Appendix D);
- As part-time workers, women rarely receive the fringe benefits, or the training and job opportunities accorded to (disproportionately male) full-time workers (See Appendix E).

In the last fifteen years, strong and vocal women in the United States, Canada, and Sweden have indicated that inequality of pay and job opportunities are no longer acceptable and must be rectified.[4] Since International Women's Year in 1975, continental European women have exerted similar pressure within their own countries. These pressures stimulated the development of laws, collective agreements, and other governmental regulations on equal pay and equal opportunity. (See Appendix F for a representative sample.) Pressure from women also has led to the creation of national commissions to deal with women's issues as well as women's bureaus within government agencies to address the specific concerns of women workers. (See Appendix G for a list of the major governmental bodies in eight countries.)

Indeed, policies to expand the employment opportunities of women stand at a historic juncture in the advanced industrial democracies:

- In Western Europe, a directive of the European Economic Community effective August 1978 requires each of its nine-member states to develop a policy instrument to further the equal treatment of women in the labor market.

- In Canada, a federal Human Rights Act, effective March 1, 1978, introduced the principle of equal pay for work of equal value, which represents a radical departure from similar policy in other countries.

In Sweden and the United States, policies to eliminate sex discrimination, effective at least since the mid-1960's, are undergoing serious attack and reassessment by supporters and opponents alike.

- The Swedish approach of coordinating selective and general labor market policies with collectively bargained contract rights has received its most serious challenge to date from the small but vocal Liberal Party. This party has been the major force behind an anti-discrimination law proposal which was introduced into Parliament in early 1979. The law proposal has been sharply criticized by both employers and employees, and receives only the critical support of the Social Democratic Party. If passed, it would constitute the first attempt to reform the labor market through a law opposed by both of the social partners.

- United States policy, long based on legislation and its enforcement through the courts and administrative agencies, also is at a turning point. The enforcement of equal opportunity and equal pay has been consolidated under the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission. The Commission, moreover, is overhauling its processing of individual complaints, through a newly developed rapid processing system, and is activating its powers to initiate complaints against what has been called "systemic" discrimination, through the targeting of major corporate offenders of the law. Despite this move toward greater administrative efficiency, many believe that current and pending court decisions will establish precedents that strictly delimit what can be accomplished under existing legislation.

Concern among policy-makers over equal employment policy, which encompasses the goals of equal pay and equal opportunity, has shifted from the question of whether to seek equality for working women to the issue of how to achieve equality most expeditiously.

The Wellesley College Center for Research on Women organized the conference agenda to discuss the strengths and limitations of strategies for implementing equal pay and equal opportunity policy. (See List of Conference Staff and Program Committee.)

Conference Structure

Conference Participants

Sixty-five participants came from the following twelve countries: Austria, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, Federal Republic of Germany, France, Ireland, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Sweden, the United Kingdom, and the United States. We selected them with an eye to accomplishing three explicit conference goals:

- to promote an exchange of practical experience on the implementation of equal employment policy;

- to bring together people from different areas, such as policy-makers, activists, union women, lawyers and researchers, with direct experience and an immediate interest in equal employment for women; and

- to generate a network of people, both within countries and across countries, who could call on each other for help and advice in implementing policy.

Participants were women and men who shared the assumptions that equal employment for women was a desirable and achievable goal and that government policies were important vehicles by which changes could be achieved.

Because countries are at varying stages in the development of equal employment, we divided countries into two groups so as to enable greater participation from countries with more well-developed equal employment opportunity programs. For the countries with established programs and policies--Canada, Sweden, the United Kingdom, and the United States--and from France and the Federal Republic of Germany, we invited a diverse group of women and men, many of whom did not know each other. For other countries currently in the process of formulating government policy on equal employment opportunity, we invited only one or two policy-makers or advisors responsible for developing this policy.

Finally, we sought participants who could both contribute to the dialogue through a short presentation at some point in the conference and be in a position to use the information and insights gained from involvement in the conference.

The persons invited included major policy-makers responsible for developing equal employment policy in each country. In addition to policy-makers, the conference brought together over one dozen prominent women trade unionists and feminist activists, almost one dozen lawyers, an equal number of researchers, and several persons associated with major corporations. (See List of Keynote Speakers and Participants which follows the summary of issues and themes.)

Conference Format and Style

This four-day conference was designed to create an atmosphere conducive to sustained dialogue and to direct and informal interaction among participants. First, we explicitly invited people as individuals, and not as representatives of their country. Second, each participant was a panelist at one conference session, and, to the extent possible, we tried to assign each participant to the session most closely related to her or his particular expertise. Third, we set and enforced strict time limits for these introductory remarks to allow for lengthy and open give-and-take among participants at each

session of the conference. (These conversations usually continued into coffee breaks and meals.) Finally, participants addressed each other on a first-name basis, which is unusual at international conferences. We designed this format to avoid the pitfalls common to many international conferences, which often reduce dialogue to official statements that are literally read into the proceedings.

In addition, at the Wellesley Conference, a majority of the papers were disseminated in advance. Paperwriters then became panelists at the session most relevant to their particular papers and were allowed to make only brief introductory remarks, thus preventing conference sessions bogged down by long presentation and commentary.

Discussion at virtually all of the sessions involved a constructive intermingling of perspectives rare at a meeting of such a diverse group of people. We developed a conference program that was shaped in terms of issues rather than areas of expertise because we did not want to sacrifice discussion of broad political issues to debate over more narrow technical concerns. All sessions were plenaries, so that the group remained together for the entire conference. Participants with extremely diverse backgrounds shared the same panels.

These conscious attempts to create an atmosphere of informality and to maximize exchange among participants paid off handsomely.

Themes in Equal Employment Policy: Agenda and Papers

A chart listing the themes, the sessions, the commissioned papers, and the countries discussed by panelists for every session of the conference follows the summary of issues and themes.

The agenda of the conference was divided into five related themes:

(1) The economic and social context of equal employment policy: Specifically, the impact of the recession and family policy and the importance of the economic and policy context in determining the successful implementation of equal employment policy.

(2) Strategies for implementing equal employment policy: This largest portion of the conference

addressed the strengths and weaknesses of four institutional mechanisms used to implement equal employment policy: collective bargaining, litigation, administrative agencies, and labor market policy.

(3) The impact of equal employment policy within work organizations: We focused on changes in countries with a history of equal employment policy.

(4) The impact of organization on change: Particularly the role of government commissions, and other non-governmental women's and trade union organizations, in facilitating labor market equality for women.

(5) Technical issues in equal employment policy: This section explored the range of appropriate data necessary for monitoring equal opportunity, and the use of job evaluation schemes for comparing wages across job categories in equal pay policy.

Twenty-one background papers on seven countries were commissioned specifically for this conference and organized in terms of the themes of the conference. Revised versions of these papers will be published, along with introductory and concluding chapters prepared specifically for this volume, in Equal Employment Policy for Women: Strategies for Implementation in the United States, Canada, and Western Europe. The volume, edited by Ronnie Steinberg Ratner (who has written the two additional chapters), is scheduled to be published by Temple University Press in August, 1979. (See Appendix H for a listing of the Table of Contents of this book.) These conference papers together constitute a coherent set of analytic "case studies" and critical essays on the evolution, implementation, and impact of equal employment policy for women. Rather than providing general background material, papers discussed some theme of equal employment policy in one country. These experiences were juxtaposed with those described in papers on other countries to highlight the contrasts or similarities between countries. Moreover, the papers do not dwell on the idiosyncrasies of each country's policies. Rather, they address issues that transcend the more narrow concerns peculiar to any country.

Themes in Equal Employment Policy: Basic Issue Concerns

It is impossible to capture and summarize in a few pages the diversity of the participants' perspectives on the range of issues addressed at the conference. This section discusses five topics about which there seemed to be a modicum of consensus among the participants. They are:

(1) Which general strategies are (or are not) effective in achieving equal employment policy (EEP);

(2) What we can learn from the changes within work organizations in countries in which EEP has existed for some time;

(3) How alternative work arrangements complement the goals inherent in EEP;

(4) How the recession has affected EEP and what can be done about it; and

(5) How the goals of current EEP are limited in their failure to address the undervaluation of women's work.

After exploring each area, this report turns to a discussion of unresolved issues which emerged during the conference. These reflected basic differences among participants in the choices they would make with respect to alternative policy options on equal employment opportunity. While many of these differences were a function of dissimilar conditions in the countries from which participants were drawn, a number of the unresolved issues concerned general questions of equal employment policy for women. Discussion is limited to those general points.

Strategies for Implementing Policy

The largest portion of the conference was devoted to a consideration of the strengths and weaknesses of key institutional strategies operating in particular countries. Numerous features of a country's social, political, and economic landscape determine the specific laws, regulations, agreements, and programs that mandate its equal employment policy. Among these features are:

- the structure of the economy;
- the composition and relative power positions of interest groups on the labor market;
- the information about and evaluation of those policies and programs which have proven successful in other countries; and
- the perceived appropriateness, feasibility, and expediency of the prevailing approach to policy-intervention in the labor market.

Most countries have adopted multiple strategies for achieving equal pay and equal opportunity. One or two of four possible institutional strategies, however, dominate each country's approach: a legal strategy placing heavy emphasis on the use of litigation, evident in the United States and France; a legal strategy involving administrative enforcement mechanisms, such as the equal opportunity commissions in the United States and Great Britain; collective agreements between trade unions and employers, which are relied upon in Belgium, Sweden, and West Germany; and general employment and vocational training programs, such as the ones encompassed in the Equality Program of the Swedish Labour Market Board.

At the start of the Wellesley conference, participants were divided over whether a specific sex discrimination law would be effective in achieving equality. By the effectiveness of a strategy, we mean the extent to which a strategy reduces occupational segregation, decreases the wage gap, or both. It is important to remember that to a certain extent, the effectiveness of a strategy, or a combination of them, is country-specific. For example, we would not expect that using trade union grievance procedures to resolve disputes over equal pay or equal opportunity would be effective if only a minority of employed women fall under collective bargaining agreements, as is currently the case for the United States and Canada. Yet, at the same time, the case material on countries with strikingly different socioeconomic, political, and legal settings suggest a number of general conclusions about the strengths and limitations of various strategies, regardless of the country in which it is carried out.

While no one policy instrument mandating EEP, whether a law, a government regulation, or a collective agreement, can, by itself, achieve equal employment opportunity for women, conference participants agreed that an equal opportunity or anti-discrimination law was an important component of any EEP. As one participant stated: "legislation is a basis on which we

build; it's not an achievement on which we rest." Past experience suggests that such a law would be of limited effectiveness, especially if it only provides for the investigation of individual complaints around specific employer actions. Acknowledging these limits, there are certain provisions which, if included in a law, would render it more effective.

- A law must include a clear definition of what constitutes discrimination, intelligible enforcement procedures, and strong sanctions for non-compliance.

- A law also should be drafted so as not to lose support for its goals from "natural" allies already organized on the labor market, especially trade unions. In Sweden, for example, this would mean including provisions in their proposed anti-discrimination law that would ensure that equality agreements negotiated through collective bargaining would take precedence in all but the most extraordinary of situations. It also would mean that the government could not bring charges of sex discrimination against a union, at least initially, as is now possible in the United States and Canada.

- Mechanisms for monitoring change after an agreement should be established, either through redistributing resources within government agencies as, for example, the shift by the U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission to targeting to remove systemic discrimination, or through the activities of women's organizations such as the National Action Committee in Canada and trade unions such as the Swedish Confederation of White Collar Employees who currently engage in monitoring change-efforts.

- Individual complainants must be protected from the likehood of retaliation by employers and other employees.

- Individually-initiated litigation should be de-emphasized. Other forms of dispute resolution in which decisions affect whole classes of employees--e.g., class action suits, arbitration, and conciliation--should be provided.

Once a law is enacted, it is more likely to be effective if the media can be used to inform women both of the existence

of the law and their rights under it, and to disseminate information on the actual treatment of women on the labor market. Moreover, it is crucial to locate examples of successful change efforts in order to reduce the resistance to change that comes from a fear of the unknown.

Of all the strategies discussed, litigation of individual cases was regarded as being the most inefficient and of limited effectiveness. For example, probably more cases on sex discrimination have been brought to courts in the United States than in all the rest of the advanced industrial democracies combined. Certain features of the law in the United States, such as placing the burden of proof on the employer, protecting the employee from dismissal, and allowing for class action suits can work, under certain conditions, to the benefit of women workers. The impediments to using the courts, however, remain enormous. Judicial proceedings are an expensive, time-consuming, and painful process; judges vary in their degree of commitment to EEP.[5]

This is true for the other countries as well. The record of equal pay and equal opportunity court cases in France and the United Kingdom also does not offer much hope to those who regard litigation as the primary strategy for fundamental change. Marguerite Lorée reports that, in France, there were only eighteen complaints lodged under the equal pay law in the first three years of its existence. In twelve of these cases, the findings made by compliance officers proved inconclusive. Only a few complaints were litigated and, while the Industrial Court has ruled in favor of female employees on a number of occasions, most of these decisions have been appealed by the employers. Several cases have taken over five years to litigate. Nancy Seear calculated that in the United Kingdom, industrial tribunals have settled less than one-half of the complaints in favor of the employee. Of the 91 cases under the Sex Discrimination Act that reached the industrial tribunal, "only 18, or just under 20 percent, were settled in favor of the /employee/ applicant."

To be sure, one of the major constraints on the effective use of litigation is the restricted scope of existing equal pay and equal opportunity laws, a shortcoming noted throughout the conference and a topic which will be discussed in the concluding section of this report.[6] But, regardless of the content of a law, litigation carries features which make it a less than ideal route to equal employment. This is especially true over the long run, because U.S. experience suggests that employers (and the lawyers they hire) become more sophisticated in their opposition to the law over time. From the perspective of women workers, U.S. cases that would establish good precedents are increasingly being settled out of court.[7] "Bad" cases move

through the judicial system, establishing precedents that constrain future government actions on EEP. These same deterrents to using the courts appear in other countries, including Canada and West Germany.[8]

Litigation must not be abandoned entirely, however. Individuals need and should have the right to a forum in which to redress grievances. In addition, court cases appear to be politically effective at the early stages of policy-formation, especially in countries with an emerging but weak women's movement, and with a low or moderate level of unionization. Individual complaints make visible women's subordinate labor market position, "prove" that discrimination is a recurring (if not inherent) feature of the way labor markets operate, and facilitate organization among women around the issue of EEP.

Laws must not only establish the right to EEP. They also must provide for government enforcement. Almost all countries have examined the United States' Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) or the United Kingdom's Equal Opportunities Commission (EOC) as the basis for shaping their own enforcement agency. Four aspects of implementing EEP through administrative agencies appear to be especially problematic:

- whether the enforcement of equal pay and equal opportunity should be coordinated or separated;
- what degree of discretion should be given to the agency to set enforcement priorities;
- how to deal with "systems overload,"--i.e., complaint backlog; and
- whether models of enforcement agencies from other countries can be transplanted and take root in alien soil.

One answer to some of these questions is drawn from a decade of U.S. experience in government enforcement. Peter Robertson, Acting Director of the Office of Policy Implementation of the U.S. EEOC, argued that the EEOC has come to re-define what discrimination is and how it operates in the labor market.[9] Originally, discrimination was regarded as an intentional and conscious action taken by a specific employer against a specific employee--what is called direct discrimination. Discrimination also was viewed as marginal to the normal procedures for hiring, training, and promoting employees. Thus, the EEOC emphasized the use of conciliation to resolve individual disputes. Moreover, its domain was restricted to equal opportunity, leaving the enforcement of equal pay to another government agency.

This limitation stymied law enforcement efforts, especially where women are discriminated against because their work is undervalued. (Whether the enforcement of equal pay and equal opportunity should be coordinated or handled separately was an unresolved issue which will be addressed below.)

One of the major results of early law enforcement efforts was the realization that discrimination was intrinsic to the day-to-day operation of the labor market. For example, employees are aware of what positions are appropriate to apply for; they act on the basis of these stereotypes and never apply for a job. Or, a job applicant, or an applicant for a company-run training program, must take a screening test which bears little relation to the actual requirements for a job or a training program. These tests seem to maintain the past pattern of applicant selection, since a significantly higher proportion of white males relative to black males or females pass the tests. This indirect or systemic discrimination requires a different approach to enforcement. Instead, administrative agencies need to target certain industries and firms and initiate investigations into the patterns of employment. Once these and other companies have agreed to expand employment opportunities for women, administrative agencies need to support companies' efforts to develop new personnel procedures so that new occupational patterns emerge.

Countries currently developing equal opportunity policy can build on the insights gained from the U.S. experience: if a country can come up with a definition of discrimination that encompasses indirect (i.e., systemic discrimination) as well as direct discrimination, administrative enforcement of EEP can yield significant results in a shorter amount of time. This moves concern away from instances in which an employer has acted with prejudice to the patterns by which certain groups are treated unequally in the labor market. It also means that enforcement agencies move away from conciliation and dispute resolution and emphasize, instead, systemic discrimination.

As the papers by Dipak Nandy and Jeffrey Jowell observe, the approach to the enforcement of equal opportunity in the United Kingdom builds on this and other lessons from U.S. enforcement efforts. There have been, however, a number of difficulties in accommodating the U.S. approach to British institutions, most notably a poor record of court decisions in favor of employees due to a propensity of British judges for narrow interpretation of statutes, as well as the loss of information that enforcement agencies gain from individual complaints because the British law separates complaint resolution from

other enforcement action. It also has meant that implementation of equal pay and equal opportunity remains uncoordinated, which, according to Dipak Nandy, renders each less effective. Again, the United States will prove the testing ground for the effectiveness of coordinated enforcement of equal pay and equal opportunity policy because, under President Carter's 1979 plan for the reorganization of equal opportunity policy, the enforcement of both laws has been consolidated under the EEOC.

Some countries such as Sweden, Belgium, and Austria rely on trade unions, through collective bargaining, political action, and worker education, to implement EEP. (Whether trade unions or government agencies emerge as the dominant institution through which EEP is implemented and enforced is, in large part, a function of the extent and strength of unionization in a country. In Sweden, over 70 percent of employed women belong to unions in contrast to 12 percent in the United States or 20 percent in the Federal Republic of Germany.[10]) Participants agreed that, even in countries where most employees are unionized, there were many problems with collective bargaining as an EEP strategy, including difficulties in organizing women and moving them into positions of leadership, the likelihood of employer resistance, and the ignorance of workers about this issue. In addition, during economic downturns, specific demands such as EEP are sacrificed at the bargaining table to the principal objective of maintaining workers' real wages.

In spite of these problems, gains have been made through collective bargaining: the Wage Solidarity policy of the Swedish trade unions has almost eliminated the gap in wages between men and women. In this policy, the goal of equal pay between men and women is embedded in the more general goal of collapsing the differential between low-wage and high-wage workers. Since women constitute a large proportion of low-paid workers, a general policy to decrease wage disparities has been of disproportionate benefit to women workers. In 1973, the ratio of women's to men's salaries in Sweden was 86 percent, which is the lowest differential in salary by sex of any of the advanced industrial countries. (At the other extreme is the United States, where the ratio of female to male salaries as of 1973 was 57 percent.[11]) In addition, in several countries, unions have bargained for and won educational leaves, maternity disability benefits, and paid maternity leaves.

The example of the Swedish Wage Solidarity policy is particularly instructive on the conditions under which trade unions facilitate EEP. First, as the Wage Solidarity policy demonstrates, trade unions are more likely to work on women's issues when framed as general issues. Second, unless a co-determination agreement (which gives employee representatives a role

in making decisions about policies such as hiring, training, upgrading, and dismissals) has been negotiated, trade unions can be more effective in achieving equal pay than in achieving equal opportunity. Third, it appears that a stronger commitment to EEP exists in unions with centralized bargaining as opposed to decentralized bargaining. With decentralized bargaining, decisions on pay and opportunity vary as a function of the constellation of factors specific to the company and the locals. In addition, at the local level, the interests of less powerful workers have received less attention. If women began to assume leadership positions in their local unions, however, they might be able to achieve significant gains even with decentralized bargaining. In Sweden, equality committees are forming at the local level to ensure that the special concerns of women will be addressed. These committees could be one source of recruiting women into union leadership positions.

In other countries, with a low percentage of the female workforce in unions, the first order of priority is to organize women. Once women are in unions, collective bargaining becomes a more viable strategy for achieving EEP for women. Indeed, several participants concurred with the assessment of one of the panelists at the conference's wrap-up session: she ventured the conclusion that, once women had been organized into unions and had assumed positions of leadership within them, the structure of trade unionism offered the best possible vehicle for achieving labor market equality for women.

Finally, in most countries the Ministry of Labor, the Ministry of Education or both have been operating training programs for some time. These training programs are at the heart of what has been come to be called Labor Market Policy (LMP). LMP also encompasses programs such as public employment programs, public works employment, and incentive programs to stimulate firms to hire certain categories of workers. As a matter of course, women are eligible for training, but most enroll in programs oriented toward eventual employment in typically female occupations. It was reported that in Austria between 1971 and 1975, for example, more women than men participate in labor market training programs. The range of occupations for which men and women train varies considerably: 95 percent of boys train in as many as 72 different trades while 95 percent of girls train only 17 trades. (Note, however, that many participants believed that women pursued training in traditionally female fields because of the way in which they were approached or channeled into programs.)

With the exception of Sweden, where labor market policy is at the center of EEP, most countries are only beginning to

incorporate the goals of EEP into training and related types of programs. Based on limited experience, participants were able to identify a number of features which should be taken into account in shaping a program to train women to enter non-traditional jobs. These include:

- making special efforts to include re-entry women. (Past experience suggests that, since late adolescence is a time of heightened awareness of gender identity, it seems to be more difficult to interest high school graduates and dropouts--as opposed to married women with children--in training for typically male jobs.[12]);
- training women in groups and including special sessions on how to deal with harassment;
- understanding labor market trends so as to train women for jobs in expanding, rather than in declining, sectors; and
- ensuring a link between job training and job placement.

In sum, participants agreed that multiple strategies were needed to achieve equal pay and equal opportunity for women. At the center of the policy should be some institutional mechanism responsible for identifying patterns of unequal treatment, negotiating agreements to eliminate such patterns, and monitoring the implementation of the agreement. One participant suggested that the cost of monitoring and follow-up be included in the agreement and recent consent decrees in the U.S. are including provisions for a paid monitor.[13] More attention needs to be placed on training as well, so that women can qualify for the skilled positions likely to be made available in the future. Some of the limited resources currently devoted to litigation and precedent-setting might be better used to underwrite these alternative strategies for equalizing opportunities.

Impact of Equal Employment Policy in Work Organizations

EEP has been in existence for a long enough time in several countries, and especially in the United States, to make possible an assessment of its effect on women's position and on personnel procedures within private firms. Indeed, two major studies--one in the U.S. and one in the United Kingdom--have been undertaken, and the results of these studies were presented for the first time at the Wellesley conference. Using aggregated data,

one study measured changes in the range of jobs in corporations in the business and industry sector available to women in the United States. The second study measured changes in the gap in wages between men and women for Great Britain. In addition, these studies were concerned with linking these changes in outcome to changes in the process by which work organizations recruit, hire, train, and promote personnel. Both studies restricted their time frame to 1970-1975.

Both studies reported changes in the direction of greater equality for women. In her study of the U.S., Ruth Shaeffer of the Conference Board found that, while the percentage of women in managerial positions increased in most industries, the greatest gains had been made in female-intensive industries, such as retail trade; textile mill products; and electrical machinery equipment supplies. In addition, she discovered that, while small companies seemed to improve differentially the job opportunities of women, "the greatest improvement in the proportion of women in their upscale jobs," occurred within the very large corporations.[14]

Nancy Seear of the London School of Economics found that the Equal Pay law in the United Kingdom had reduced the gap in wages between men and women:

> In 1970, the year in which the Equal Pay Act was passed, women's average gross weekly earnings were 54.3 percent of men's average earnings. This figure rose to 61.5 percent in 1975 and to 64.3 percent in 1976. For hourly earnings, in 1970, excluding the effects of overtime, women were receiving 63.1 percent of the men's figure. This increased to 72.1 percent in 1975, and 75.1 percent in 1976.

The gap in wages between women and men workers decreased more in industries and occupations included within the scope of Equal Pay law.

Shaeffer and Seear, as well as the other panelists, identified several factors which facilitate an improvement in the position of women within work organizations. The list included in Ruth Shaeffer's paper encompasses many of these points:

1. Awareness of federal laws and regulations
2. Commitment on the part of the chief executive officer

3. Establishment of goals and timetables for action

4. Development of an equal employment opportunity policy

5. Analyses of the company's utilization of women

6. Awareness of large backpay awards in class action suits

7. Monitoring of EEP plans vs. results

8. Dissemination of the EEO policy

9. Identification of special problem areas in utilizing women

10. Changes in personnel practices or special programs to improve opportunities for women

It is interesting to note as well that the U.S. firms studied by Shaeffer reported that they were unable to single out whether Title VII of the Civil Rights Act, which prohibits discrimination, or Executive Orders 11246 and 11375, which require companies doing business with the government to set up goals and timetables for increasing the representation of women and minorities in jobs in which they are currently excluded, was the impetus behind the changes they were undertaking. Most major U.S. corporations are government contractors. But, even more important is the fact that corporations reported that they found the most effective way to avoid difficulties under Title VII was to adopt the affirmative action approach associated with the Executive Order.

Non-American participants were especially eager to learn about the Executive Orders 11246 and 11375. A similar but less flexible Swedish policy requiring companies to meet sex quotas in hiring in order to receive government assistance also stimulated great interest. Specifically, in Sweden, since mid-1974, a condition for obtaining government location assistance, training grants, and induction grants has been that at least 40 percent of the additional jobs created by these means are to be reserved for each sex."[15] Participants from a number of countries returned home to explore the possibility of including equal employment guidelines in existing regulations surrounding government contracts. In France, the Comité du Travail Feminin recently proposed to the State Secretary on the Status of Women, Nicole Pasquier, that the government refuse to grant contracts or subsidies to companies which have been

found to be in noncompliance with either their equal pay or anti-discrimination legislation.[16]

Regardless of how a law or order defines discrimination or specifies procedures for remedying it, a number of participants indicated that the important stimulus to change was the threat of costly government sanctions for noncompliance. This is one reason why the fact that most countries enter into business contracts with a large number of private firms for goods and services is a potential lever through which to stimulate significant change in the personnel policies of companies.

Based on her extensive work with individual firms, Rosabeth Kanter concludes that once a company has made a commitment to equal opportunity for women, there are at least two ways to avoid resistance within the company to equal opportunity programs. First, it is important to focus on the structure of the organization as it relates to all employees rather than isolating one particular group. It is then possible to link the goals embedded in affirmative action programs to the expansion of opportunities for all employees, and hence avoid zero-sum situations. Second, it is crucial to stress that the procedures for achieving equal employment opportunity have been proven to be consistent with sound organizational procedures in general. Affirmative action plans require companies to review the composition, distribution, and use of employees; to compare employees with the available pool of labor; to set goals for changing the composition, distribution, and use of employees; and to establish a plan for meeting these goals. Proper compliance with equal opportunity policy, then, "rationalizes" the personnel function within work organizations. In those companies that have begun to develop and implement affirmative action plans, the conclusion is that, while the procedures may be painful to initiate, they have resulted in the improved management of all workers in a firm.

Alternative Work Arrangements

Equal employment policy not only facilitates the development of new personnel procedures; it also stimulates thinking about other changes in the organization of work that would better accommodate the distinctive needs of women workers. Two issues that point to such general changes are the need to remove the link between part-time work and women's unequal labor market position, and the need to change aspects of the work process associated with jobs performed primarily by men. Both issues call for policies that restructure the organization of work. As Lady Elspeth Howe of the Equal Opportunities

Commission, United Kingdom, put it: "The male Norm is a nice guy but we want to get rid of him."

Proposals--indeed, sometimes competing proposals--addressing the issues of part-time work and the changing structure of work are being placed on the public agenda in several countries.[17] Some countries have even enacted such policies as:

(a) Alternative arrangements of working hours, including flexitime.

Flexitime encompasses such specific innovations in the reorganization of working hours as compressed and shortened workweeks, staggered hours, and rotating shifts. While these policies began in Western Europe as a way to attract workers, especially women workers, during the labor shortage of the late 1960's, they have come to be associated with new demands, emerging from women workers themselves, to make work and family more compatible. The more flexible rearrangements of working hours have been made available to a significant minority of workers in Sweden and in the Federal Republic of Germany. Most other Western European countries are showing considerable interest in introducing flexitime, but trade unions in these countries vary in their support of such proposals.[18]

(b) Experiments in job sharing.

Job sharing has emerged as one way to enable working couples to divide more equally work and family responsibilities. It has been introduced in Sweden in a number of companies within the cooperative sector and in many government offices. In addition, a number of plants in Norway permit married couples to share a job for a certain period of time, while retaining their separate fringe benefits.

(c) Guaranteed paid leaves.

Worker sabbaticals are currently under consideration in a number of European countries. Gösta Rehn, a well-known and highly influential Swedish economist, has proposed that every worker be allocated a lifetime "bank of time" during which she or he is guaranteed a leave with pay for a number of purposes of her or his own choosing. This could include a sabbatical to take care of small children, as well as a leave to enroll in a training program for a mid-life career shift. It would be funded through an insurance policy operating along the lines of the unemployment compensation system. While no country has even come close to embracing this proposal, programs for educational leaves without the threat of job loss exist for many employees in France and Sweden, established in the former through national legislation, and in the latter through collective agreements.[19]

Other goals that participants are beginning to press for in their countries are:

(a) shortening the working day so as to eliminate the eight-hour norm of full-time work;

(b) extending fringe benefits to part-time workers; and

(c) reimbursing employers for introducing technological innovations which make it easier for women to perform a job.

The goal of the six-hour day was brought up by the European participants throughout the conference. (A shortening of work hours appears to be one of the major aims of the European trade unions. Male unionists want to shorten the working week. Female unionists prefer, instead, shortening the working day.) This demand would contribute to women's labor market equality in several respects:

(1) the six-hour day would more closely approximate the part-time workday, decreasing the extent of part-time work and increasing the likelihood that fringe benefits would be extended to all workers[20];

(2) women and men would have additional time each day to devote to household tasks and leisure activities, increasing the likelihood that leisure and non-paid work would be shared more equally; and

(3) more jobs would be available, lowering unemployment for all workers, unless the reduction in working time were accompanied by an increase in the capital-labor ratio. A decrease in unemployment would contribute to the creation of an environment more favorable to EEP.

Recession and Equal Employment Policy

The current recession and its effect on EEP was on the minds of all participants. With few exceptions, and despite the fact that unemployment statistics understate the actual number of women who would accept jobs if they were available, women in general suffer a higher rate of unemployment than men. It also takes women a longer time than men to find new employment.[21] The differential effect on the level of female

unemployment, of the economic downturn of the 1970's, however, varied by country: Ralph Smith reports in his paper that in the United States, while more women are unemployed than men, the level of unemployment for women is less sensitive to changes in the business cycle than for men. Women are insulated from these cyclical fluctuations because of occupational segregation; yet, their higher rate of unemployment is, in part, also a function of occupational segregation. The impact of the current recession on women's unemployment in Great Britain, France, and Sweden is different from the United States. A recent study concluded that women workers appear to have experienced more difficulties than men (during the economic downturn).

> In the recessionary phase both men and women appeared to experience increasing unemployment except in Sweden where the policy measures implemented greatly curtailed the effect of the cycle on the labour market. For men, however, the increase was largely due to lay-offs, whereas among women the rise in (unemployment) ... was attributable ... to continued entry into the labour market in an unsuccessful search for employment. In the recovery phase, which was characterized by a slow and uneven improvement in conditions, men were the chief beneficiaries ... ; women, in contrast, continued to experience an increase in unemployment as the growth of employment in traditionally feminine domains was too slow to accommodate all those seeking work.[22]

The link between occupational segregation, women's unemployment, and women worker's second-class status is nowhere more clearly demonstrated than in the response of governments to the economic downturn. As the papers by Berit Rollén and Herta Däubler-Gmelin show, public works and job training programs to put the unemployed back to work are, for the most part, designed around the needs and skills of male workers. Indeed, as Ralph Smith points out, policy-makers in the United States are blaming "women's increased commitment to paid work ... for part of the nation's unemployment." Some policy-makers and their economic advisors contend that if women would only leave the paid labor force, we would be able to return to the "full employment economy" of the early sixties. As economist Nancy Barrett has written of this mentality: "Women are viewed as a reserve army of labor whose interests should be given the lowest priority in hard times."[23]

In a number of countries, most notably West Germany, and to a lesser extent Sweden, the recession and women's unemployment have stimulated the discussion of certain political "reforms" which would create incentives to increase the birthrate and remove women from the labor force. The moderate and conservative parties are considering a proposal to pay mothers or parents of small children "upbringing money."[24] Herta Däubler-Gmelin, a member of the West German Parliament affiliated with the Social Democratic Party, was highly critical of this proposal and her reaction to it in her paper is worth quoting at length:

> However worthy the value of encouraging parental upbringing of children would be in itself, the timing and socio-political context of this movement gives pause for thought. Because of the small amount of the government stipend, it might well be accepted only by women, not by men in a secure employment situation. In fact, the unemployment compensation that could be claimed is much higher. Similarly /the specific language of the proposal which allows for a one-year limit/ raises the question of rehiring. This obligation is completely missing from the CDU proposal ... The trend to force women more strongly than ever out of the business world stands too clearly in the background of such suggestions for them to be made acceptable to those who, even in times of economic difficulty, cling to the goal of equality of opportunity for women.

With the economic downturn creating a policy climate unsympathetic to even maintaining women's employment, the goal of equal opportunity becomes especially difficult. The reaction among conference participants to "upbringing money," and to other proposals aimed at removing women from the labor market in this recessionary period is best summed up through the observations made by Alice Cook, Professor Emerita, New York State School of Industrial and Labor Relations, at the wrap-up session of the conference. Cook stressed the importance of rejecting "zero-sum thinking" about equal opportunity and women's unemployment; in other words, she stressed that policy-makers should not allow a concern with high unemployment to interfere with EEP. Instead policy-makers and others must constantly remind the public of certain pressing realities of the late twentieth century: that one breadwinner will no longer

be able to support a family; that married women, including married women with young children, will continue to enter the labor market in ever-increasing numbers, with no evidence of a reversal of this trend; and that the structure of the labor market and the composition of jobs is not static.

Even in a period of low growth, certain sectors of the economy are expanding. New occupations emerge--whether as a result of "impersonal" market forces or through more "conscious" public and private job creation programs. The projection of labor market trends and the training of women workers to fill emerging positions can do a great deal to reverse the direction of female unemployment. This is especially true if such research, planning, and program development include, at each stage, some mechanism to guarantee that women will have access to newly created jobs. On the other hand, in a labor market characterized by occupational segregation, occupations quickly become sex-typed as male or female. The growth of the service sector over the last forty years is only the most recent example of this general phenomenon. Therefore, care must be taken to avoid the creation of new, female job ghettos. Placing women in new jobs which, because they are female, would be low-wage and dead-end, would be a mixed blessing indeed.

Undervaluation of Women's Work.

Equal pay policy is receiving renewed attention in several countries. The current equal pay policy in most countries, however, is limited in that wage comparisons can only be made between men and women in the same or in substantially similar work. Yet, in the United States, for example, four out of five clerical jobs were held by women in 1974. Other female dominated jobs in the U.S. include (as of 1975): registered nurse, 97.0%; elementary school teacher, 85.4%; telephone operators, 93.3%; secretaries, 99.1%; waiters and waitresses, 91.1%; sewers and stitchers, 95.8%; and private household workers 97.4%.[25] In other words, it is very difficult to find men in these and other occupations in order to compare pay rates.[26]

To broaden the scope of equal pay policy, a new standard of equal value/comparable worth has been proposed as the basis of wage comparison. A comparable worth standard would make it possible to compare the wages of women in typically female jobs with the wages of men in typically male jobs. In an occupationally segregated labor market, equal pay for work of equal value carries the potential for improving the collective positiontion of women workers, if not their individual opportunities.

Equal pay/equal value requires some method for determining the "worth" of a job independent of the wage rate it commands. It necessitates some exercise in job analysis and job evaluation. Conference discussion of job evaluation touched on both technical and political considerations, and a number of general points were raised.

- There are many varieties of job analysis; none of them is neutral. Historically, job evaluation has been used to undermine the power position, and the wages, of employees. While most participants were able to separate out its potential use from its past use, participants also saw a pressing need to convince trade unions, and the workers they represent, of the progressive potential of job evaluation techniques.

- Most participants agreed that, given the subjective nature of job evaluation, women committed to the goal of equal pay for work of equal value must be included in job evaluation committees.

- Job analysis and job evaluation should be treated as tools to assign relative wages to different jobs in the labor market. This raises considerable difficulties because it must be remembered that, within the market setting, there is unequal power between employers and employees, as well as unequal power between male and female employees. Moreover, the goal of business in capitalist society is to maximize profits. These market-features place severe constraints on the likelihood of achieving equal pay for work of equal value.

The political setbacks in the recent attempts to bring women's wages more in line with those paid to men in comparable jobs through the use of job evaluation is sobering. In both the United States (Washington state) and West Germany, studies using job analysis and job evaluation techniques uncovered significant disparities in the wage rates of women and men in comparable jobs. In both situations, the demand to raise the pay scale of women in undervalued work to approximate the wages in comparable men's jobs fell on unsympathetic or indifferent ears. Women workers included in these studies continue to be paid the same low wages for performing work assessed to be equivalent in skill, effort, and responsibility to higher paying male jobs. It is as if the studies had never been conducted and the results never presented. In these cases, the difficulties did not appear at the technical stage,

but emerged in the process of implementation.

In addition, in the United States a number of legal suits concerning the undervaluation of women's work suggests that the courts are extremely unsympathetic if not hostile to this policy goal. The courts have dismissed the evidence derived from job evaluations, from data on the difficulty of locating men willing to accept jobs at the rate of pay typical of women's jobs, and from analyses on the historical evolution of jobs. Instead, the courts contend: that the women failed to show that they had been barred from men's jobs; that Congress never intended the courts to interfere in the workings of the marketplace; and that Congress never intended that the courts be concerned with the evaluation of jobs.[27]

In summary, what these court cases, and the experiences in Washington state and West Germany show has best been stated in an editorial by Ellen Goodman on the issue of equal pay for work of equal value:

> If assessing "comparable worth" is hard, getting equal paychecks is going to be even harder. It will take more than the consciousness-raising, more than careful point systems, more than the litigation and the best wishes of the U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission.
>
> It will require increased organization and clout among women workers themselves. If there is one slogan that underlines all the rest, it's the simple one: Equal pay for equal power.[28]

Unresolved Issues

While all of the participants shared a commitment to the development of government policies to further women's labor market equality, they differed in a number of respects: in their perspectives on the legitimate focus and scope of policy, in their choice of means most likely to facilitate change, and in their orientation to the specific goals and priorities of equal employment policy. A few examples within each of these three basic categories should illustrate these differences.

Perspectives

Participants diverged over their preference for an equal employment opportunity policy that encompassed a short-run

versus long-run perspective. For example, a policy-maker often must decide whether to develop certain policy instruments which take as given the existing unequal division of expectations, roles, and responsibilities between men and women in the household. Alternatively, she or he could choose a more "long-run perspective," in which existing inequalities are ignored or placed to one side and the assumption of equality between women and men is consistently adhered to. In the short run, the policy resulting from this decision in favor of legal equality may be less beneficial to those women with extensive household responsibilities, and without sufficient resources to allocate these tasks and obligations to others. Policy-makers who adopt a long-run point of view (implicitly) act on the assumption that greater equality in the labor market eventually will lead to greater equality both in the family and in other non-labor market institutions. Therefore, they oppose protective labor laws, and prefer parental leave (as opposed to maternity leave) as a policy to cover working parents after the birth of a child. This is typical of equal employment policy in Sweden and in the United States. Other countries, most notably the United Kingdom, incorporate the short-run perspective, preferring instead to take into account and attempt to alleviate the additional burdens that exist for women in lower socioeconomic classes. For example, the Sex Discrimination Act coexists with Protective Labor Laws, the latter being explicitly exempted from the provisions of the former. Similarly, a maternity leave policy is supported through employer contributions, which makes it costly for employers to hire women of childbearing age.

The issue of the relationship between family policy and EEP was a controversial one. At one extreme were those who expressed discomfort with any reference to the family in the context of a forum addressing issues of employment. By contrast, other participants saw the implementation of family policy as the essential precondition for the achievement of women's labor market equality. This issue will be discussed at greater length in the final section.

Means

Not surprisingly, participants voiced strong opinions, developed out of their direct involvement with the political process, about the most feasible and effective way to accomplish change. Their positions varied over such questions as:

(1) Is equal employment opportunity primarily a legal problem?--i.e., a question of developing and enforcing a new set of legal rights--

or an industrial relations problem?--i.e., a question of changing the way the workplace functions? (Participants with one or the other position diverged in their choice of dominant strategies.)

(2) Would it be more effective for administrative agencies to devote their limited resources to education, persuasion, and targeting for voluntary compliance or to legal sanctions to obtain compulsory compliance?

(3) Are the goals of equal pay and equal opportunity most effectively achieved through the same, or through different, combinations of strategies?

(4) Should firms be required to release labor force and wage data to anyone requesting it, or should such data be allowed to remain confidential?

(5) Should countries develop positive incentives as a way to expand the opportunities of women, or institute strong sanctions against non-compliance?

(6) Should there be separate women's commissions to monitor the activities of other government departments or should women monitor such activity as regular members of these departments?

(7) Are quotas a legitimate tool for expanding the opportunities for women?

The issue of quotas was an especially difficult unresolved issue. The Bakke decision, in which the U.S. Supreme Court upheld the constitutionality of affirmative action programs as a legitimate method for remedying past discrimination but denied the use of inflexible quotas for these purposes, falls midway between the range of positions taken by European and North American participants on the issue of affirmative action, positive discrimination, and quotas. At one extreme are policy-makers in many countries who refuse to introduce any programs where special consideration is given to women in order to place them in positions from which they were formerly excluded. This posture exists regardless of whether their equal opportunity law offers them the option of acting affirmatively. At the other extreme is Sweden; its Labour Market Board requires

firms to fulfill sex quotas in order to qualify for regional development support. It has established quotas for the placement of unemployed workers in public service jobs. It is investigating the potential effectiveness of introducing quotas into vocational guidance and training programs, and into the hiring of women for non-traditional jobs.

Goals and Priorities

The participants were divided in their concern over the link between equal employment for women and the need to achieve more basic changes in the structure and operation of the labor market. Specifically, the question was: should equal employment policy change women or change the labor market in which they work? For example, should the labor market continue to "punish" those women who want to stop paid work for several years to be at home with their pre-school children? ... or who want to work part-time as a solution to their dual responsibilities? Can there be labor market equality if women continue to have a more tenuous link to the labor market than men? Or is it necessary to eliminate part-time and discontinuous work in order to attain equality for women in the labor market?

Participants differed as well over whether their primary commitment was to equal employment opportunity or to equal pay for work of comparable worth. Where the primary concern is eliminating occupational segregation and equalizing employment opportunities, the policy-goal becomes improving women's access to a wider range of and better paying male jobs. Paying women more money to keep them in the same sex-segregated jobs is not viewed as a meaningful solution to women's labor market integration. In contrast, equal pay for work of comparable worth becomes the goal of those who attach importance to improving the collective position of the majority of women who work at women's jobs. This goal is especially valued because the economic downturn has contracted the opportunities of all employees, regardless of sex. Therefore, rather than allowing all employees to fight over a smaller total number of jobs, redirecting energies toward comparable worth will result in a substantial improvement for women, one that does not come at the expense of male employees.

Conclusion

The participants at the Wellesley Conference on Equal Pay and Equal Opportunity Policy for Women engaged in dialogue on a wide array of issues and themes: on the formulation and implementation of equal employment legislation and collective agreements; on the relationship between equal employment policy

and other labor market policies; on the connection between policies which affect the labor market and other social policies; and on the political action of groups with a vested interest in expanding the employment opportunities of women. Policy-makers, researchers, and activists in different countries must continue to share their insights about policy so as to ensure that the formulation of policy is informed by the strengths and limitations of similar policies in other countries.

In this final section, I want to address three issues touched upon in earlier sections of the paper which seem especially important to me when considering the direction equal employment policy should take. They are:

(1) insuring that equal employment for women does not result in multiple responsibilities for women in work and family life;

(2) unionizing working women, implementing equal employment policy through trade unions and strengthening women's organizations; and

(3) broadening the goals of equal employment policy so that an affirmative action approach dominates equal opportunity policy and so that the standard in equal pay policy is broadened to equal pay for work of comparable worth.

The Double Burden of Working Women

In an article on "Changing Sex Roles and Family Structure," sociologist Janet Zollinger Giele reports that "employed American women who have families average a total of 70 hours of work a week ... Each week they have a few hours less leisure time than men for sleep or relaxation ... Thus, more women have entered employment without having secured the needed adjustments in family life."[29] If this is currently the case, it does not offer much hope that women's double burden of work and family responsibilities will ease when equal employment is achieved, unless some adjustments are made.

One set of solutions involves developing family policies and other government services which would facilitate a more equal division of responsibility for the family and household tasks between men and women. Increasing childcare facilities, as well as maintaining programs to care for the elderly would

help alleviate some of the more pressing demands made on adults in families. Most countries have been negligent in meeting these needs, however. As Hilary Land perceptively points out for the United Kingdom, government social programs have been sharply reduced during the last few years. Those that remain are organized around the assumption that each family has available to it one full-time member--namely, the woman--who is able to accommodate her schedule to the often-times rigid timetable of existing facilities. In addition, in many countries, working parents must organize their work and family lives around the school and day care schedules, rather than vice versa.[30] Health care clinics are rarely open on the evenings and weekends, forcing many parents to rely on emergency rooms and other types of non-continuous care.

But the facts indicate that one-earner families in which one adult is available to accomplish all of the unpaid family-based work are no longer in the majority in the United Kingdom, nor anywhere else for that matter. In the United States, for example, a 1976 study by Hayghe found:

> ... families with both a husband and wife in the labor force now make up 41 percent of all U.S. husband-wife families, a larger single block than any other form; families with husbands only in the labor force account for 34 percent.[31]

Consequently, more attention needs to be paid to the conflicting demands placed on the time available to wives, mothers, and adult children. Designing social programs and other service facilities to take into account the needs of two-earner families would constitute an important contribution to equal employment for women.

Second, tax policy, social security laws, and pension programs must be amended to make government incentives to family life consistent with the goals inherent in equal employment policy. Existing policies in the United States are in the process of being modified through court decisions and legislative reform to remove the incentives to the male-earner-only family.[32] By contrast, policies in the United Kingdom continue to embody this traditional model of division of labor within the family. This, Land contends, is an additional factor helping to perpetuate the conflict between women's family responsibilities and equal employment policy.

But obstacles remain even where these biases have been removed, such as in Sweden, where public services have begun to be restructured and where policy is formulated according

to an implicit model of family equality. These difficulties take several forms, some of which are more easy to deal with than others. A first set of obstacles are the insufficient number of day care centers and other childcare facilities. This could easily be eliminated by creating additional programs and by offering parents a diverse set of childcare options. (Of course, the difficult issue behind this easy solution involves finding sufficient funds to pay for these programs.[33]) A second set of obstacles arises out of the lag between women entering the labor market and men assuming responsibility in the home. Because of this asymmetry, family policies and other equality-based social policies may exacerbate tensions within existing families, because the support provided to the husband by the wife has not been replaced by a new relationship predicated on interdependency.[34] This is compounded further by the fact that husbands continue to contribute more to total family income than wives, thereby maintaining their position as primary breadwinner. Although more Swedish men are taking advantage of parental insurance to care for their infants, this difference in income contribution continues to make it beneficial to the family for women to take leaves from work.[35] These are some of the unintended consequences which emerge along the route to equality and which must be carefully considered when trying to synchronize family policy and equal employment policy.

A final obstacle raised in Rita Liljeström's paper is even harder to resolve. This concerns the probability that increased participation by men and women, and eventually even their equality in the labor market the way it is currently structured, will come at the expense of their leisure, their hobbies, and their volunteer work. Perhaps even more disturbing is the possibility that increased commitment to work and the concomitant demands such commitment brings will make it more difficult to enter into and sustain intimate relationships in which personal needs are, to a certain extent, satisfied. Any serious discussion of equal employment for women must of necessity confront and think through basic questions of priorities, especially taking into account how individuals want and are able to organize their lives over the life cycle. At the very least, it will raise the issue of whether equality in the work and family spheres is possible in any political economy where the demands of the productive sphere take precedence over the requisite needs in what Liljeström and others call the reproductive sphere. The question then becomes: what changes, as for example a radical decrease in the number of hours constituting full-time work, need to be introduced into the way work is organized to achieve equal employment for women in order to avoid these difficult unintended consequences?[36]

Unionization and Women's Organizations

It is imperative for employed women to join trade unions in industries where they exist and to organize unions in industries where they do not. Once in unions, they must move into leadership positions, and especially get involved in contract negotiations. First, as women participate in negotiating teams, those teams will come to regard "women's issues" such as equal pay and equal opportunity as a high priority which is not to be lightly compromised away. Second, union grievance procedures potentially offer women a more direct and efficient channel for dispute resolution than do the time-consuming and frustrating methods of complaining to administrative agencies and litigation. Third, unions have direct access to the day-to-day operations within a workplace; hence they can directly monitor the implementation of EEP.

To suggest that unions carry great potential for furthering the priorities of women workers is not to say that it will be easy to get male trade union leadership to give up or even to share their power in existing unions, or to offer financial and other support to women organizing in traditionally female sectors. Likewise, it will not be easy to re-orient institutions which have always been male-dominated to the concerns of women workers. As Barbara Wertheimer, Director of the Trade Union Women's Studies program of the Cornell School of Industrial and Labor Relations, points out in her paper, women will be faced with great obstacles as they enter and participate in unions. That is why programs to train women such as the one described by Wertheimer are essential. As Wertheimer remarks, "to incorporate affirmative action plans into collective agreements will demand all the know-how and energy and skill that we have indicated that women need." Nonetheless, the potential gains to be made in organizing women and in implementing equal employment policy through direct action of employees in the workplace far outweigh the initial difficulties associated with changing the power structure, and hence the priorities, of trade unions.

Increasing the extent of unionization among women workers is no substitute, however, for strong women's organizations. Each type of organization has a unique and crucial role to play in building equality for women in the labor market. While, in the United States, most women's organizations are devoting almost all of their energies towards getting the required three-quarters of the states to approve the Equal Rights Amendment to the Constitution, there exist several groups of women laywers specializing in litigation to establish precedents favorable to women in the area of sex discrimination in employment.[51] Once trade unions assume primary responsibility for

settling individual complaints, the role of women law groups and other political organizations is freed to focus on attaining other, more basic changes. This could range from monitoring consent decrees or other agreements made by private firms (to ensure that employers are instituting the changes specified) to lobbying legislatures to fund the day care and training programs (which are a crucial prerequisite to equal employment opportunity for women). As Lorna Marsden and others pointed out for Canada, it was the concerted and coordinated efforts of women working both inside and outside of government that were responsible for the inclusion of a provision on equal pay for work of equal value in the Human Rights Act. And, of course, equal pay for work of equal value, as Ellen Goodman reminds us, will remain a formal right unless women organize to make it a reality. In summary, then, women must organize both within trade unions and into autonomous organizations. They must do so in order to:

- create new institutional arenas in which disputes can be resolved;
- develop educational programs to make women aware both of their position in the labor market and of the resources available to them to change that position;
- exert the political pressure for new governmental and non-governmental programs and policies;
- ensure that formal commitments are lived up to; and
- redistribute power both in the labor market and in society in general.

Broadening Policy Goals

The scope of government policy on equal employment must simultaneously be broadened and sharpened to confront directly and attack more effectively the sources of female labor market inequality. Specifically, this would mean modifying the goals of both equal opportunity and equal pay policy. Consider equal opportunity policy: litigation of individual complaints is likely to be politically effective in the short-run, in that, by uncovering the systemic nature of discrimination, it carries the potential to move to other, potentially more effective, strategies. This is especially true in countries with an emerging women's movement, with an individualist ideology, with decentralized collective bargaining, and with

a moderate level of unionization. Once systemic discrimination is understood, in other words, it no longer makes sense to rely on individual complaints as the major impetus to enforcement. It is necessary to shift priorities toward the formulation and implementation of new procedures for processing women in the labor market--in other words, to modify the way firms recruit, select, assign, train, or promote employees. This means shifting priorities in enforcement from what may be called a "discrimination" strategy, where the emphasis is on negative sanctioning of specific instances of unfair treatment, to an "affirmative action" strategy, where the emphasis is on positive actions to formulate and implement new personnel procedures.

A redefinition of policy goals is warranted for equal pay policy as well. The scope of a law providing for equal pay for equal work is extremely limited in a labor market characterized by occupational segregation. One need only consider the fact that, since the enactment of the national equal pay law in the United States, the gap in wages between men and women has actually increased. This is true in spite of the fact that federal enforcement efforts around the existing equal pay law have been substantial, as the paper by Marcia Greenberger reports. Until equal pay for work of comparable worth is accepted as a legitimate policy goal, equal pay policy will not be confronting the predominant cause of wage inequality in the labor market.

If a public policy is to be effective, it must incorporate a strategy which meets head on the problem it was established to remedy. As Rosabeth Kanter pointed out, "the question of explanation for inequities and perceived limitations to women's equal opportunity cannot be ignored, for the effectiveness of any intervention strategy is inextricably bound up with the adequacy of diagnosis of the sources of the problem." For equal employment policy, this means attacking the central sources of labor market inequality--occupational segregation and the undervaluation of women's work. Experience with the enforcement of equal opportunity and equal pay policy in the United States has deepened our understanding of these sources. Kanter continues this line of reasoning and concludes that: "if the problem /of equal opportunity/ is analyzed in terms of organizational policies and practices, career paths and access to them, or other features of the design of work systems, then it is possible to go more directly to employing organizations themselves as the target of change efforts." Similarly with equal pay policy, if the gap in wages is a product of the systematic undervaluation of women's work, then the priority of the policy should be to

adjust upward the wages paid for women's work.

The development of equal employment policy for women is at a crucial turning point in most of the advanced industrial democracies. Over the next two decades, the parameters of policy in most countries will not only take form, but will also become more difficult to modify.[38] Therefore, a great deal of work remains to be done: to create programs and policies that will lead to permanent changes in the way women are distributed by industry and occupation, and to make related social and labor market policies consistent with the goal of integrating women workers, to name but a few of the many tasks ahead. If, indeed, efforts to achieve equality for women are successful, one measure of this success will be that enforcement of equal employment policies will, in the long run, render these policies superfluous.

Footnotes

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[2] Statistiska Centralbyran Utredningsinstitutet. Arbetskrafts Undersökningen Arsmedeltal, 1976. (Sweden: 1977).

[3] Statistical Office of the European Community, Demographic and Social Statistics, Statistical Telegram, December, 1977. (Luxembourg: Eurostat, January 1978); Statistical office of the European Community, Labour Force Sample Survey, 1975. (Luxembourg: Eurostat, 1976); Statistics Canada, Labour Force Survey Division, Statistics Canada: The Labour Force, 1977. (Ottawa, Canada: Ministry of Industry, Trade and Commerce, December, 1977); United States Department of Labor, Employment and Training Report of the President, 1977. (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1977); United States Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, Division of Foreign Labor Statistics and Trade, Office of Productivity and Technology. "International Comparisons of Unemployment" (Preliminary Draft) September, 1977.

[4] Alice H. Cook, "Equal Pay: A Multinational History and Comparison," unpublished manuscript. Ithaca, New York. January 1, 1975; International Labour Office, International Labour Conference, 60th Session, Report VIII, Equality of Opportunity and Treatment for Women Workers. (Geneva, Switzerland: International Labour Office, 1975).

[5] Mary C. Dunlap, "The Legal Road to Equal Employment Opportunity: A Critical View," American Women Workers in a Full Employment Economy: A Compendium of Papers submitted to the Subcommittee on Economic Growth and Stabilization of the Joint Economic Committee. (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1977), pp. 61-74.

[6] Jeffrey Jowell noted that another, related problem with legislation is that it is written in language, which means that it has to be interpreted by someone--hence, the need for litigation. The question then becomes: who will interpret the law?

[7] See also: Sadie Robarts, "Impressions of Affirmative Action in 1978," unpublished report to the German Marshall Fund of the United States, 1979.

[8] Annemarie Renger, Vice-President of the West German Bundestag, requested that women who felt themselves to be discriminated against at their workplace write to her. She attempted unsuccessfully to find someone from among these women who would initiate court proceedings. See: Annemarie Renger, Gleiche Chancen für Frauen? (Heidelberg: C.F. Müller Juristischer Verlag, 1977).

[9] The EEOC modified this definition largely by stimulating, and after 1972, by initiating, precedent-setting litigation. Whether other countries will have to repeat this experience or can simply define discrimination in legislation without engaging in court proceedings is a function of the formal legal structure and sociological culture.

[10] Anne M. Nelson, "The One World of Working Women," Monograph No. 1, Bureau of International Labor Affairs, U.S. Department of Labor, August, 1978, p. 6.

[11] United States Department of Labor, Employment Standards Administration, Women's Bureau, 1975 Handbook of Women Workers, Bulletin 297 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1975), p. 131.

[12] Rita Liljeström, Gunilla Furst Mellström, and Gillian Liljeström Svensson, Roles in Transition: Report of an Investigation made for the Advisory Council on Equality between Men and Women. (Stockholm, Sweden: Liber Förlag, 1978).

[13] Sadie Robarts, "Impressions ..."

14 Ruth Gilbert Shaeffer and Edith F. Lynton, Corporate Experiences in Improving Women's Job Opportunities, Conference Board Report No. 755. (New York: The Conference Board, 1979).

15 Arbetsmarknadsstyrelsen, Equality in the Labour Market: Programme--adopted by the Labour Market Board. Solna, Sweden: September 1977.

16 Comité du Travail Féminin, Actualités du Travail des Femmes, No. 21 (December 1978), p. 3.

17 Janet Zollinger Giele and Hilda Kahne, "Meeting Work and Family Responsibilities: Proposals for Flexibility," Women in Mid-Life--Security and Fulfillment: A Compendium of Papers Submitted to the Subcommittee on Retirement Income and Employment, Select Committee on Aging. (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1978), pp. 158-177.

18 Jeffrey M. Miller, "Innovations in Working Patterns," Report of the U.S. Trade Union Seminar on Alternative Work Patterns in Europe, May, 1978.

19 Ibid.

20 In France, as in Austria, a smaller percentage of women work part-time than in other countries. At the conference, we learned that the French trade unions strongly oppose the introduction of part-time work. They contend that this is a further basis of worker exploitation: part-time jobs carry less security, do not pay well, and involve more stressful tasks. Moreover, they are dead-end jobs where there is little or no possibility of qualifying for training programs (whether run by the employer or by government agencies). A similar assessment was made by Herta Däubler-Gmelin in her paper.

21 Stuart Garfinkel, "The Outcome of a Spell of Unemployment," Monthly Labor Review, 100 (January, 1977); Diane Werneke, "The Impact of the Recent Economic Slowdown on the Employment Opportunities of Women," Working Paper, World Employment Programme Research, International Labour Office. May 1977.

22 Werneke, "Recent Economic Slowdown," pp. III-IV.

23 Nancy Smith Barrett, "Women in Industrial Society: An International Perspective," Jane Roberts Chapman, ed. Economic Independence for Women: The Foundation for Equal Rights (Beverly Hills, California: Sage Publication, 1976), p. 83.

[24] Ironically, these proposals have emerged at the same time as the enactment of a set of far-reaching reforms equalizing family relations, discussed by Elizabeth Haines at the conference. See: Max Rheinstein and Mary Ann Glendon, "West German Marriage and Family Law Reform," The University of Chicago Law Review, 45 (Spring 1978), pp. 519-552.

[25] Louise Kapp Howe, Pink Collar Workers, (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1977), p. 21.

[26] Francine D. Blau, Equal Pay in the Office, (Lexington: Lexington Books, 1977).

[27] See, for example, Lemons v. City and County of Denver, and Christensen v. State of Iowa.

[28] Ellen Goodman, "New Slogan, Same Struggle," The Boston Globe, Tuesday, October 10, 1978.

[29] Janet Zollinger Giele, "Changing Sex Roles and Family Structure," Social Policy (January/February, 1979), p. 33. See also: Jessie Barnard, "Policy and Women's Time," Jean Lipman-Blumen and Jessie Bernard, ed., Sex Roles and Social Policy: A Complex Social Science Equation. Sage Studies in International Sociology, 14 (Beverly Hills, California: Sage Publications, Inc., 1979), pp. 303-333.

[30] Denise LeCoultre, "L'Aménagement du temps de travail et ses répercussions pour les femmes," paper prepared for the International Symposium on Women and Industrial Relations, Vienna, Austria: September 12-15, 1978; Alice H. Cook, The Working Mother: A Study of Problems and Programs in Nine Countries, (Ithaca, New York: School of Industrial and Labor Relations, Cornell University, 1975); Alice H. Cook, "Working Women: European Experience and American Need," American Women Workers in a Full Employment Economy, pp. 271-306.

[31] Janet Z. Giele, "Changing Sex Roles and Family Structure," p. 36.

[32] Grace Ganz Blumberg," Federal Income Tax and Social Security Law," American Women Workers ..., pp. 237-248. See also: Nancy M. Gordon, "The Treatment of Women in the Public Pension Systems of Five Countries," Urban Institute Working Paper: 5069-01, March 1978.

[33] The issue of finding adequate funds to establish a sufficient number of childcare programs is by no means trivial and should not be underestimated. As Mary Jo Bane noted at the conference, funding for day care programs competes with other program priorities--e.g., education, income support, and programs for the elderly--for the limited pool of funds devoted to general social welfare expenditures. Currently, governments are reluctant to allocate additional funds to this category of budget items. See: Richard Rose and Guy Peters, Can Governments Go Bankrupt? (New York: Basic Books, 1979).

[34] Rita Liljeström, et al, Roles in Transition.

[35] Socialdepartementet, Föräldraförsäkring (Stockholm: Betänkande av familjestödsutredningen, 1978).

[36] Annika Baude, "Public Policy and Changing Family Patterns in Sweden, 1930-1977," Sex Roles and Social Policy, pp. 17-38.

[37] See, for example, the work of Equal Rights Advocates; the Women's Rights Project of the Center for Law and Social Policy; and the Women Rights Project of the American Civil Liberties Union; as well as the Center for Law in the Public Interest and the Center for Constitutional Rights.

[38] Ronnie Steinberg Ratner, A Modest Magna Charta: Wage and Hour Standards Laws in the United States, 1900-1973: A Social Indicators Approach. (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, forthcoming.)

CONFERENCE STAFF AND PROGRAM COMMITTEE

Carolyn M. Elliott
Project Director

Ronnie Steinberg Ratner
Research Director

Judith S. Inker
Conference Coordinator

Norma Jackman
Program Publicity Director

Judy Paquette
Administrative Assistant

Françoise Carré
Research Assistant

Other Committee Members:

Mary Jo Bane
Harvard University

Brigid O'Farrell
Wellesley College Center
for Research on Women

CONFERENCE ADVISORY COMMITTEE

Barbara R. Bergmann
University of Maryland

Mai-Britt Carlsson
Swedish Embassy in Canada

Carin Ann Clauss
United States Department of Labor

Alice H. Cook
Cornell University

Alona Evans
Wellesley College

Steven H. Fuller
General Motors Corporation

Ruth Bader Ginsburg
Columbia University School of Law

Alvin Golub
Equal Employment Opportunity
Commission

Elisabeth Haines
Bundesministerium für Jugend,
Familie und Gesundheit
Federal Republic of Germany

Christine Jackson
Equal Opportunities Commission,
England

Gloria T. Johnson
International Union of Electrical,
Radio, and Machine Workers

John Kingsbury
American Telephone and
Telegraph Company

Betty Lockwood
Equal Opportunities Commission,
England

Joyce D. Miller
Amalgamated Clothing and Textile
Workers Union

Jacqueline Nonon
Délégation pour Condition
de la Femme,
France

Nancy Seear
The London School of Economics
and Political Science
England

KEYNOTE SPEAKERS

Shirley G. E. Carr
Canadian Labour Congress
2841 Riverside Drive
Ottawa, K1V 8X7, Ontario
Canada

Carin Ann Clauss
U.S. Department of Labor
200 Constitution Avenue
Washington, D.C. 20210
United States

Nicole Questiaux
Conseil d'Etat
13, Avenue de Bretteville
Neuilly-sur-Seine 92200
France

LUNCHEON SPEAKER

Helvi Sipila
U.N. Decade for Women
One United Nations Plaza
New York, N.Y. 10017
United States

CONFERENCE PARTICIPANTS

Mary Jo Bane
Graduate School of Education
Harvard University
Appian Way
Cambridge, MA 02138
United States

Elinor G. Barber
Ford Foundation
320 East 43rd Street
New York, N.Y. 10017
United States

Carolyn Shaw Bell
Department of Economics
Wellesley College
Wellesley, MA. 02181
United States

Andrea H. Beller
Radcliffe College
10 Garden Street
Cambridge, MA. 02138
United States

Barbara R. Bergmann
Department of Economics
University of Maryland
College Park, MD. 20740
United States

Kathleen Blunt
Women Employed
37 South Wabash Avenue
Chicago, IL. 60603
United States

Rita Cadieux
Canadian Human Rights
Commission
6th Floor, Journal Building
North Tower, Laurier West
Ottawa, K1A 1E1, Ontario
Canada

Margareta Carlestam
Tjänstemännens
Centralorganisation (TCO)
P. O. Box 5252
S-10245 Stockholm
Sweden

Alice H. Cook
Longhouse
766 Elm Street
Ithaca, N.Y. 14850
United States

Jean Coussins
National Council for
Civil Liberties
186 Kings Cross Road
London, WCIX 9DE
England

Herta Däubler-Gmelin
Deutscher Bundestag
Bundeshaus
5300 Bonn
Federal Republic of Germany

Claude du Granrut
3, rue Louis David
75016 Paris
France

Mary Eady
Canadian Labour Congress
2841 Riverside Drive
Ottawa, K1V 8X7, Ontario
Canada

Dorothea Gaudart
Bundesministerium für
Soziale Verwaltung
Stubenring 1
1010 Wien
Austria

Robert W. Glover
Center for the Study of
Human Resources
The University of Texas
at Austin
107 West 27th Street
Austin, TX. 78712
United States

Christina Graf
The German Marshall Fund
of the United States
11 Dupont Circle, NW
Washington, D.C. 20036
United States

Marcia Greenberger
Center for Law and
Social Policy
Women's Rights Project
1751 N Street, NW
Washington, D.C. 20036
United States

Elisabeth Haines
Bundesministerium für Jugend,
Familie und Gesundheit
53 Bonn-Bad Godesberg 1
Federal Republic of Germany

Ted Harris
Equal Employment Opportunity
Commission
2401 E Street, NW
Washington, D.C. 20506
United States

Christof Helberger
Universität Frankfurt
Mertonstrasse 17
6000 Frankfurt am Main
Federal Republic of Germany

Emilie Heller
Division of Program,
Policy and Design
Women's Bureau,
U.S. Department of Labor
200 Consitution Avenue, NW
Washington, D.C. 20210
United States

Alexis Herman
Women's Bureau,
U.S. Department of Labor
200 Constitution Avenue,NW
Washington, D.C. 20210
United States

Elspeth Howe
Equal Opportunities Commission
Overseas House
Quay Street
Manchester, M3 3HN
England

Christine Jackson
Equal Opportunities Commission
Overseas House
Quay Street
Manchester, M33HN
England

Marion Janjic
International Labour Office
rue des Morillons 4,Geneva
Switzerland

Mildred Jeffrey
National Women's
Political Caucus
1921 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW
Washington, D.C. 20500
United States

Issie Jenkins
Equal Employment Opportunity
Commission
2401 E Street, NW
Washington, D.C. 20506
United States

Gloria Johnson
IUE-AFL-CIO-CLC
1126 Sixteenth Street, NW
Washington, D.C. 20036
United States

Jeffrey L. Jowell
Faculty of Laws
University College, London
4-6 Endsleigh Gardens
London, WC1 H0EG
England

Rosabeth Moss Kanter
Department of Sociology
Yale University
New Haven, CT. 06520
United States

Ruth Köhn
Nahrung,Genuss und Gaststaetten
Gertrudenstrasse, 9
2 Hamburg 1
Federal Republic of Germany

Elizabeth Duncan Koontz
Education Building
Salesbury and Edenton Streets
Raleigh, N.C. 27611
United States

Hilary Land
Department of Social
Administration
University of Bristol
12 Priory Road
Bristol, BS 8
England

Martine Lévy
Comité du Travail Féminin
Ministère du Travail
74, Avenue Duquesne
7500 Paris
France

Rita Liljeström
Göteborgs Universitet
Sociologiska Institutionen
Karl Johansgatan 27 A-B
Göteborg
Sweden

Robert Gerald Livingston
The German Marshall Fund
of the United States
11 Dupont Circle, NW
Washington, D.C. 20036
United States

Julie Loranger
Co-ordinator, Status of Women
63 Sparks
Ottawa, K1A 1C3
Ontario
Canada

Marguerite Lorée
32, Rue Dauphine
75006 Paris
France

Astrid Lulling
Schifflange
Grande Duche du Luxembourg
Luxembourg

Robert Malson
Old Executive Office Building
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500
United States

Lorna R. Marsden
Department of Sociology
University of Toronto
563 Spadina Avenue
Toronto, M5S 1A1, Ontario
Canada

Sylvia Meehan
Employment Equality Agency
Davitt House
Mespil Road
Dublin 4
Ireland

Elizabeth Midgley
2715 36th Place, NW
Washington, D.C. 20007
United States

Joyce D. Miller
Amalgamated Clothing and
Textile Workers Union
15 Union Square
New York, N.Y. 10003
United States

Florence Morgan
Commission of the European
Communities
Rue de la Loi 200
B-1049 Bruxelles
Belgium

Dipak Nandy
Equal Opportunities Commission
Overseas House
Quay Street
Manchester, M3 3HN
England

Barbara W. Newell
Wellesley College
Wellesley, MA 02181
United States

James I. Nixon
Equal Opportunity Operations
International Telephone and
Telegraph Corporation
320 Park Avenue
New York, N.Y. 10022
United States

Jacqueline Nonon
Délégation pour la Condition
de le Femme
72, Rue de Varenne
75700 Paris
France

Helen Remick
DW-08
University of Washington
Seattle, WA 98115
United States

Peter C. Robertson
Office of Policy Implementation
Equal Employment Opportunity
Commission
Room 4002, 2401 E Street, NW
Washington, D.C. 20506
United States

Berit Rollén
Arbetsmarknadsstyrelsen
9, Sundbybergsvagen
S-171 99 Solna
Sweden

Susan Deller Ross
American Civil Liberties Union
Women's Rights Project
22 East 40th Street
New York, N.Y. 10016
United States

Nancy Seear
The London School of Economics
and Political Science
Houghton Street
London, WC2A 2AE
England

Ruth Gilbert Shaeffer
The Conference Board
845 Third Avenue
New York, N.Y. 10022
United States

Miet Smet
Commission du Travail
des Femmes
Rue des Deux Eglises 41
1040 Bruxelles
Belgium

Ralph Smith
The Urban Institute
2100 M Street, NW
Washington, D.C. 20037
United States

Patricia J. Snider
General Motors Corporation
Argonaut Building A-203
3044 W. Grand Boulevard
Detroit, MI. 48202
United States

Brita Sundberg-Weitman
Singelbacken 14
115 21 Stockholm
Sweden

Gisela E. Taber
Northwest General Assistance
Center
Portland State University
P. O. Box 751
Portland, Oregon 97207
United States

Marie-Nöelle Thibault
Confédération Française
Démocratique
du Travail (CFDT)
67 Rue de Dunkerque
75009 Paris
France

Pat Turner
General and Municipal
Workers' Union
Thorne House
Ruxley Ridge
Claygate, Esher
Surrey
England

Marjan van Der A
Advieskommissie van de Regering
J. C. van Markenlaan 3
Rijswijk
The Netherlands

Marijke van Hemeldonck
Zwartkeeltjeslaan 53
1060 Bruxelles
Belgium

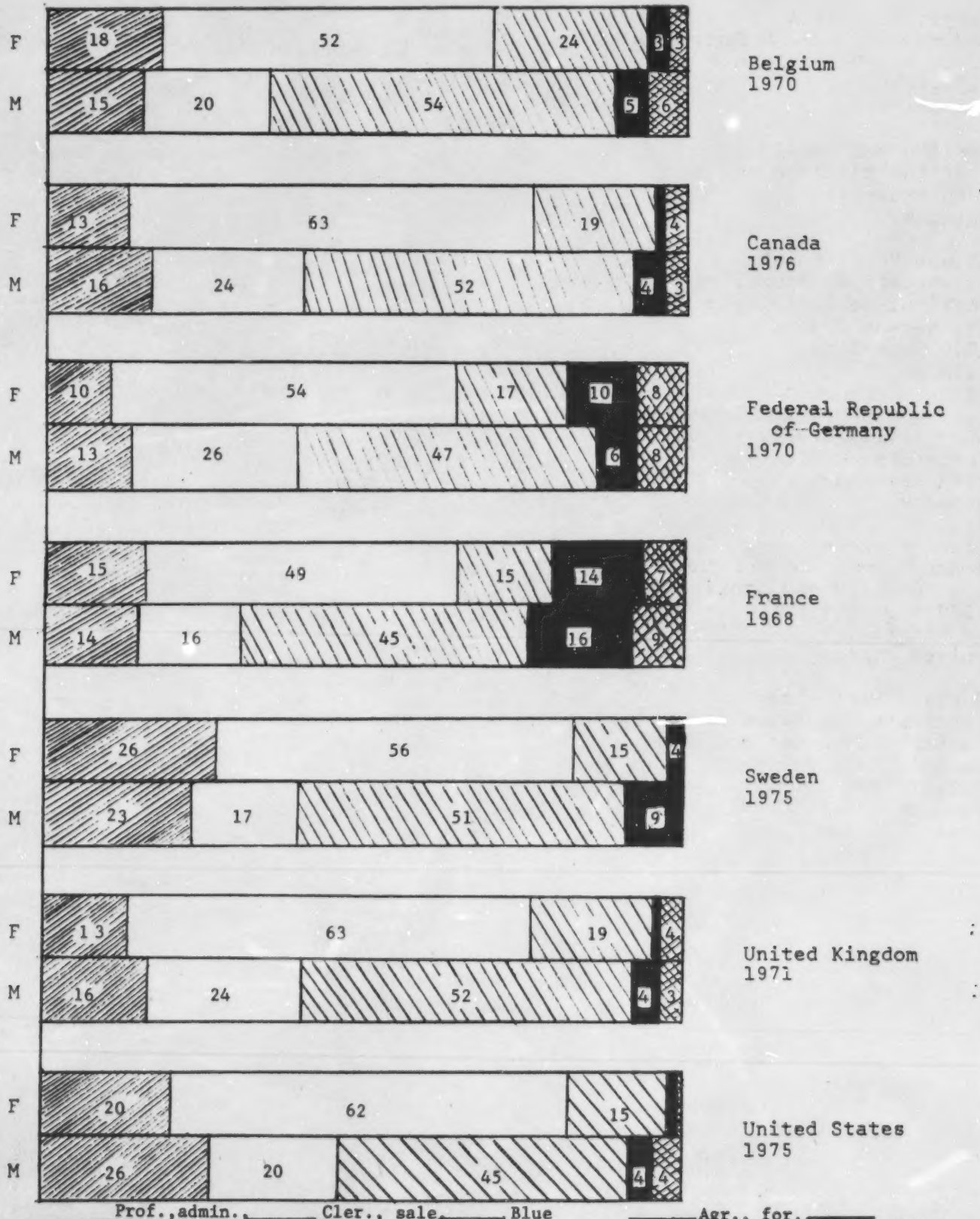
Eliane Vogel-Polsky
Universite de Bruxelles
Institut de Sociologie
44, Avenue Jeanne
1050 Bruxelles
Belgium

Lone von Haffner
Ligestillingsrådet
Frederiksgade 21
1265 København
Denmark

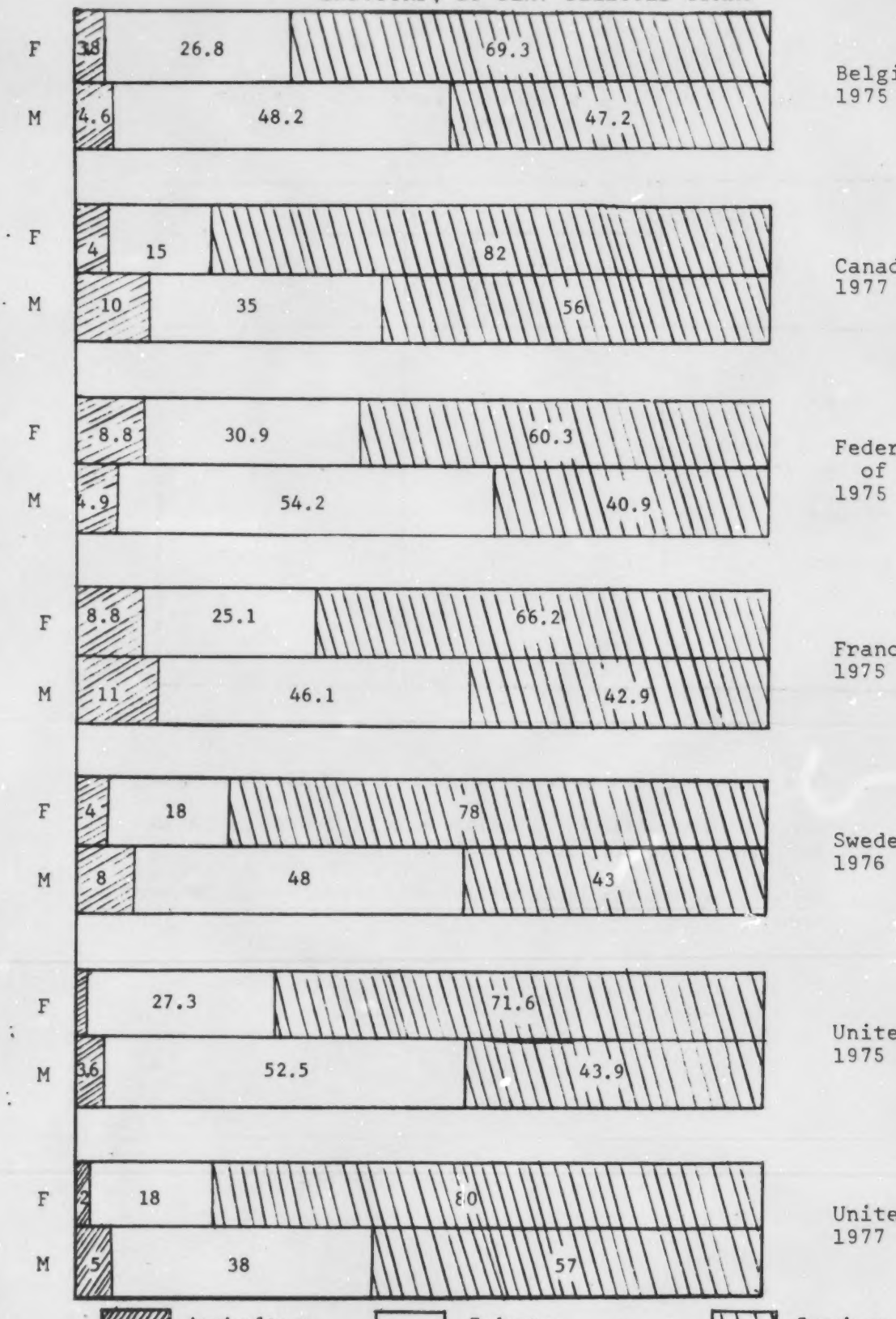
Diane Werneke
National Commission on Employment
and Unemployment Statistics
2000 K Street, NW
Washington, D.C. 20006
United States

Barbara Wertheimer
Institute for Education and
Research on Women and Work
Cornell University
7 East 43rd Street
New York, N.Y. 10017
United States

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF THE LABOR FORCE BY OCCUPATION, BY SEX: SELECTED YEARS.



PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF THE LABOR FORCE BY INDUSTRY, BY SEX: SELECTED YEARS

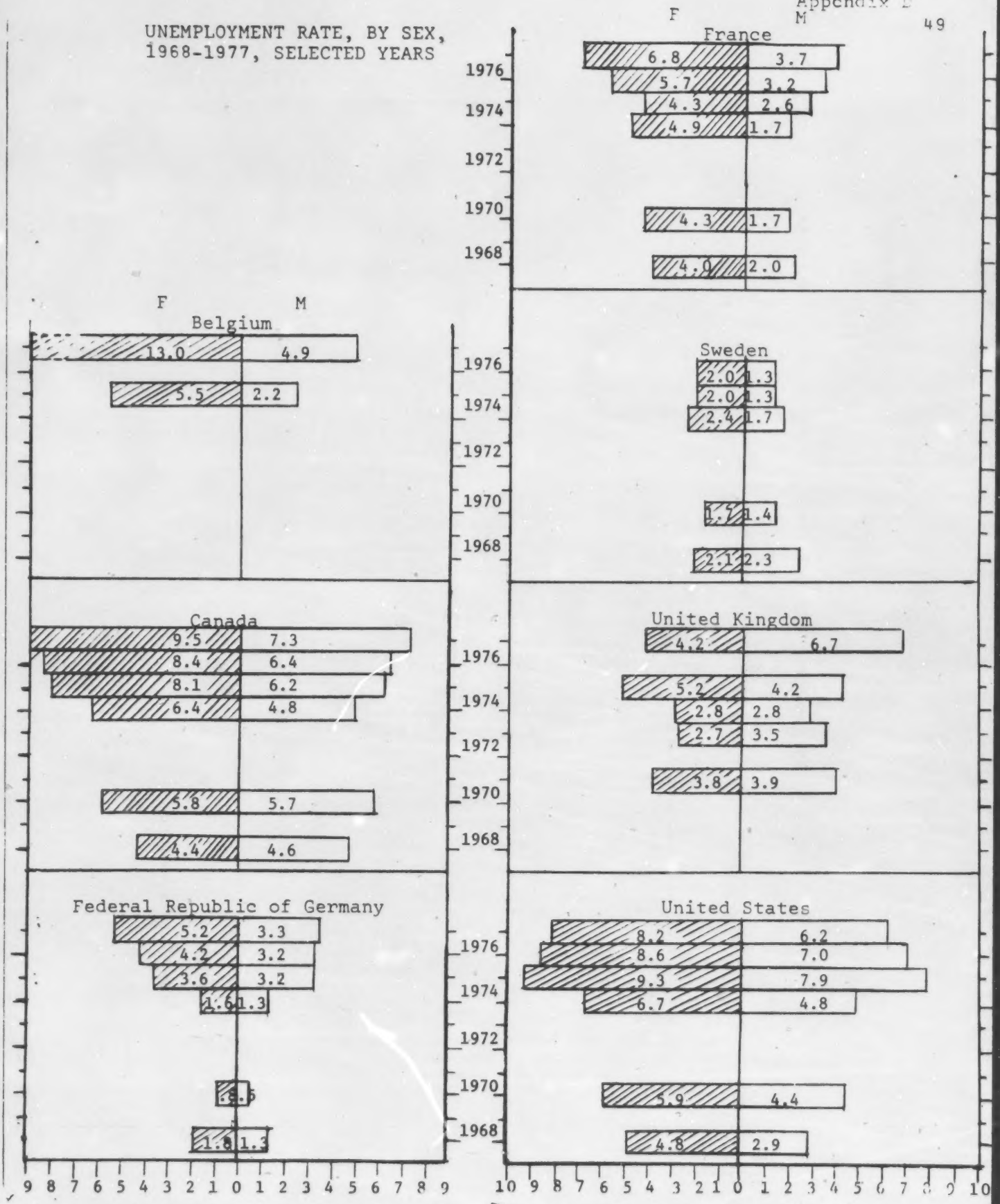


Indicators of Wage Gaps between Men and Women, 1970-1976, Selected Years

	Wages[1]			
	Year	Standardized Wage Gap[2]	Year	Average Wage Rate Disparity[3]
Austria	1975	64.4%		
Canada	1971	59%		
Federal Republic of Germany			1976	72%
France	1972	66.6%	1976	77%
Sweden	1974	86%	1970	80%
U.K.			1976	71%
U.S.	1973	57%		

1. Data collected from different sources - not fully comparable
2. Ratio of average female to average male salary for full-time, full year employees; all occupations
3. Ratio of average female to average male hourly wages; industrial workers

UNEMPLOYMENT RATE, BY SEX,
1968-1977, SELECTED YEARS



Appendix E

PERCENTAGE OF THE LABOR FORCE EMPLOYED FULL AND PART-TIME, BY SEX: SELECTED YEARS

Country	Year	Part-Time % Female Labor Force	Full-Time % Female Labor Force	Full-Time % Male Labor Force
Austria[3]	1975	14.0	86.0	99.0
Canada[1]	1977	22.1	77.9	94.5
Federal Republic of Germany[2]	1975	22.8	77.2	98.9
France[2]	1975	14.0	86.0	97.9
Sweden[3]	1977	45.2	54.6	94.0[4]
United Kingdom[2]	1975	40.9	59.1	97.8
United States[3]	1975	33.0	67.0	87.6

[1] Full Time = Those who work more than 30 hours/week + those who work less but consider themselves to be working full time.

[2] Part Time = Approximately 30 hours/week or less

[3] Part Time = Less Than 35 hours/week.

[4] 1976 data.

APPENDIX F

NATIONAL EQUAL PAY AND EQUAL OPPORTUNITY POLICY: CURRENT PRINCIPAL MACHINERY FOR IMPLEMENTATION

Country		Dominant Means of Implementation: Constitution	Legislation	Collective Agreement	Principal Implementing Measures: Year	Title	Enforcement Machinery*
AUSTRIA	Equal Pay	X	in prep.		1958	European Convention on Human Rights ART. 23(2) Part of constitution	None
	Equal Opportunity	X	in prep.			(in preparation)	
BELGIUM	Equal Pay			X	1975	National Employment Council's Collective Labor Agreement No. 25 rendered mandatory by Royal Decree of 9 December, 1975	Industrial Inspectorate Council of Experts can offer opinions on particular court cases
	Equal Opportunity		in prep.			(in preparation)	

* All countries except Sweden provide final resolution of disputes in courts

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NATIONAL EQUAL PAY AND EQUAL OPPORTUNITY POLICY: CURRENT PRINCIPAL MACHINERY FOR IMPLEMENTATION

Country		Dominant Means of Implementation: Constitution	Legislation	Collective Agreement	Principal Implementing Measures: Year	Title	Enforcement Machinery*
CANADA	Equal Pay		X		1971	Equal pay provisions incorporated into Canadian Labour Code	Labour Standards Branch, Canadian Department of Labour
					1977	Canadian Human Rights Act	Canadian Human Rights Commission
	Equal Opportunity		X		1977	Canadian Human Rights Act	Canadian Human Rights Commission
FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY	Equal Pay	X			1949	Basic Law (Constitution)	None
					1952	Law of Enterprises	
	Equal Opportunity	X	in prep.		1949	Basic Law (Constitution)	None

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NATIONAL EQUAL PAY AND EQUAL OPPORTUNITY POLICY: CURRENT PRINCIPAL MACHINERY FOR IMPLEMENTATION

Country		Dominant Means of Implementation: Constitution	Legislation	Collective Agreement	Principal Implementing Measures: Year	Title	Enforcement Machinery*
FRANCE	Equal Pay		X		1972	Act. No. 72-1143 respecting equal renumeration for men and women, implemented through directive in 1973	Labour and Manpower Inspectors in Ministry of Labour
	Equal Opportunity		X		1975	Act No. 76-625, part of article 416 of the penal code; fine for discriminating in hiring or firing because of sex or race	None
UNITED KINGDOM	Equal Pay		X		1970	Equal Pay Act, came into force in 1975	Central Arbitration Committee for complaints by member of trade union; Industrial Tribunal for individual complaints
	Equal Opportunity		X		1975	Sex Discrimination Act	Equal Opportunity Commission; Industrial Tribunals for individual complaints

* All countries except Sweden provide final resolution of disputes in courts

APPENDIX F

NATIONAL EQUAL PAY AND EQUAL OPPORTUNITY POLICY: CURRENT PRINCIPAL MACHINERY FOR IMPLEMENTATION

Country		Dominant Means of Implementation: Constitution	Legislation	Collective Agreement	Principal Implementing Measures: Year	Title	Enforcement Machinery*
SWEDEN	Equal Pay			X		Wage Solidarity Agreement	Appropriate trade union officials
	Equal Opportunity		bill intro in Parl.	X	1977	Equality agreements between Employers' Association (SAF) and each of two major trade unions (PTK) and (LO)	Committee for Sex Equality--final dispute resolving method is arbitration
					1976	Ordinance on Equality Between Women and Men in Government Service	Government Employee Administration Board
UNITED STATES	Equal Pay		X		1963	Equal Pay Act of the Fair Labor Standards Act	Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (formerly the Wage and Hour Division, Department of Labor)
	Equal Opportunity		X		1964	Title VII of the Civil Rights Act	Equal Employment Opportunity Commission
					1968	Executive Order 11375 which extended Executive Order 11246 to include sex	Office of Federal Contract Compliance Programs

* All countries except Sweden provide final resolution of disputes in courts

APPENDIX G

CONSTITUTIONAL CLAUSES AND GOVERNMENT OFFICES CONCERNED WITH WOMEN'S ISSUES

	National Commissions or Committees to Deal Comprehensively with Women's Issues		Women's Bureaus in Established Ministries	
Country	Year	Title	Year	Title
Austria	1969	Committee for Labour Market Affairs of Women	1966	Women's Division - Federal Ministry of Social Affairs
Belgium	1975	Advisory Committee on the Status of Women	1974	Commission on the Employment of Women, Ministry of Employment and Labor
Canada*	1970 1973 1976	Royal Commission on the Status of Women Advisory Council on the Status of Women Office of the Coordinator on the Status of Women	1954	Women's Bureau, Labor Canada
Federal Republic of Germany*	1973[1]	Commission of Inquiry for Women and Society, Ad Hoc Commission to German Bundestag		Ministry of Youth, Family, and Health (General questions about women) Women's Division of the Ministry of the Interior
France*	1976	Delegation on the Condition of Women (Formally State Secretary to the Condition of Women)	1965	Committee on Women's Work, Ministry of Labor
Sweden*	1972	Advisory Council on Equality Between Men and Women (re-organized within the Ministry of Labor in 1976)	1976	Committee on Equality Between Men and Women, a parliamentary committee within the Ministry of Labor

APPENDIX G (continued)

	National Commissions or Committees to Deal Comprehensively with Women's Issues		Women's Bureaus in Established Ministries	
Country	Year	Title	Year	Title
United Kingdom	1969	Women's National Commission of Great Britain		
United States	1961	Commission on the Status of Women	1920 1978	Women's Bureau, Department of Labor National Commission on Working Women, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare

* Clause on equality in Constitution

1 Newly constituted, 1977

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APPENDIX I

Equal Employment Policy for Women

Strategies for Implementation in the United States, Canada, and Western Europe

RONNIE STEINBERG RATNER is a Research Associate at the Center for Research on Women at Wellesley College and a former Visiting Scholar at Harvard Law School.

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